


MEMORANDUM FOR: DCI

This is the original which you
requested be sent to you. We have
some photostatic copies.


STANLEY J. Grogan
Assistant to the Director

19 August 1958
(DATE)

MEMO:

The attached news release and accompanying enclosure of my letter of August 8, 1958 are directed to you as a matter of public interest. They were prepared by me as a private citizen solely concerned over the apparent breakdown in the CIA and with the hope that something constructive will be done about it.

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J. Edward Johnston, Jr.
6 _____ Road

August 11, 1958

FROM: EDWARD JOHNSTON JR.

August 10, 1958

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FOR RELEASE: IMMEDIATELY

A stinging indictment of the Central Intelligence Agency and a demand for Congressional investigation of the agency's failures and omissions, particularly in the Middle East crisis, is being widely circulated throughout both houses of Congress and the Executive and Defense branches of the Government.

J. Edward Johnston Jr., of Baltimore, Md., author of the letter, charges among other things that "...sources close to British intelligence say agents of the Central Intelligence Agency encouraged and financed Colonel Nasser to over-throw the Egyptian pro-Western government of General Naguib. It is freely discussed in the foreign offices of Western Europe. We can and must discover the truth of this matter. The Comptroller General can supply the answer, I believe."

Mr. Johnston, a former GI who saw combat service with the Third Army, is acting independently and at his own expense in currently circulating a ten page extenuation of what he terms "disaster pyramided on disaster with resultant humiliation of the United States before the whole world."

Mr. Johnston's lengthy appeal for Congressional study of the CIA is dated August 8, 1958 and follows an earlier one dated July 19, 1958.

"I received from my first letter such an impressive response from Congressmen, government officials and businessmen and others that I felt compelled and encouraged to follow it up in more detail," stated Mr. Johnston. "Even this relatively little bit of known failure in the conduct of CIA should warn us that it is time we examined those charged with our security. I am not against the blank check which the CIA writes against the Treasury but I believe we should be getting something for our money. Any competent investigation of our internal security would require probing beyond the CIA and must include certain aspects of the State Department."

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The Johnston letter is a dossier of what he cites as failures and inefficiency by the CIA. He terms the breakdown in China which gave that country to Communism was the result of our policy being undermined by the "Four Johns": John Carter Vincent, John Stewart Service, John Paton Davies and John K. Emerson. Facts supporting this contention are excerpted from a Senate sub-committee report which investigated the administration of the Internal Security Act and other internal security laws, filed in 1956 and 1957.

In another phase of his letter Mr. Johnston, citing failures in military strategy during World War II, hints broadly at malevolent influence in our top military policy. Quoting Brigadier General Bonner Fellers, U.S.A. (Ret.), a top intelligence authority, the letter relates:

"After the war another mysterious thing happened. In 1946 a Russian staff of 186 went about Japan, making what was probably the most exhaustive study of bombing ever made -- 66 Japanese cities had been destroyed mainly by the American B-29 bomber. On August 18, 1946, a Moscow newspaper, "The Communist Agitator", said: 'Soviet planes must fly higher, faster and farther than those of any other power.'

"So the Boeing plant in Wichita, Kansas, received a message from Washington to destroy the means to make the B-29, then the best bomber in the world. The Boeing people took the jigs, dies and presses that had made the B-29, put them on a concrete ramp, ran over them with a road roller and sold 35 million dollars worth of machine tools for junk. Russia started right away, with German technicians, industrialists and equipment to build what they consider the best air force in the world. It is the largest."

In still another aspect of what Mr. Johnston terms the "outrage of our internal security", he cites the recent dismissal of Povl Bang-Jensen, deputy secretary of the U.N. Commission to Investigate Russian aggression which followed the Hungarian anti-Communist revolution of 1956. He points out in the letter that the Hon. Robert Morris, former counsel of the Senate Internal Security sub-Committee, charged that Bang-Jensen's dismissal was engineered by an international Communist conspiracy and implied that two Americans in the U.N. participated.

(more)

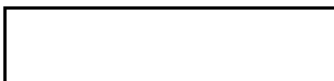
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Mr. Johnston, who declares that he is grateful he has not only the inclination but some means to stir public and apparent Congressional apathy over the state of our internal security, said he knows that his first efforts are bearing fruit.

"I know for a fact that many Congressmen have had a substantial increase in the amount of mail from constituents alarmed over the failure of our intelligence system in the Middle East crisis. I hope some of this agitation is due to my own efforts but I would be happier if I knew that thousands of others are as gravely concerned as I am and are doing something about it. Public clamor is the only way we can get any action and action is what we need."

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J. EDWARD JOHNSTON, JR.



8 August 1958

To Those Who Answered My Previous Letter - and Others:

If you read my letter of July 19, you may suspect that the repeated incredible bungling of U.S. intelligence, leading to massive American defeats, cannot be due entirely to inefficiency and incompetence.

Once we were a friendly people, proud and invulnerable. We are still friendly, but our pride has been wiped in the dust of Korea in the first defeat American arms ever suffered. China, where millions of American dollars went in private gifts without strings, and half the world on which we've lavished our billions, have turned on us in bitterest enmity and our very safety is threatened.

It is not just that a rebellion in Iraq caught our entire governmental establishment napping. It is a series of catastrophes, made possible by wrong information, suppressed information or no information, or by chronic wrong interpretation of information.

A people deprived of accurate information is blind and is being led to its own destruction.

Should we look for an enemy within?

CIA unquestionably employs many competent people who are staunch patriots. It seems impossible that any organization, even if it were less well staffed, could be so disastrously and frequently wrong as this expensive agency appears to be.

The State Department, stiff and starched with cap-and-gown patriots, has led us to defeat after defeat.

The United Nations is supposed to lead the world to peace. Yet it was the United Nations that prevented American arms from winning its Korean victory and so assured freedom's disaster in the Far East. It was the United Nations that compromised with honor in Hungary.

Is CIA merely a billionaire incompetent?

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8 August 1958

Is the State Department nothing but an impotent collection of university degrees?

Is the United Nations Organization only a gaggle of dreamers?

Surely no aggregations as star-studded as these could be so consistently and disastrously wrong, unless someone planned it that way: the people kept blind, the Congress deprived of information and, perhaps, even the Administration kept in the dark.

I suggest the possibility of an enemy within.

In the accompanying pages I will make a few comments and give some examples that cry out for explanation - that demand immediate investigation, immediate remedial action if we are to continue to live as a free people.

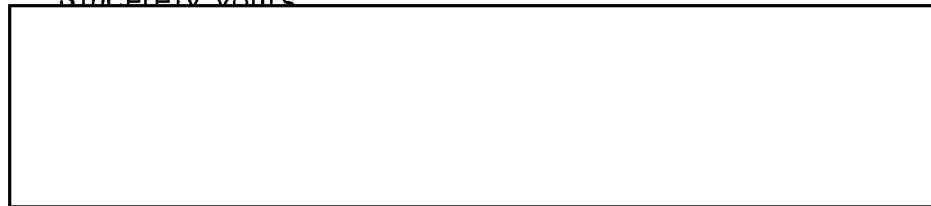
I want to thank the Senators, Congressmen, Generals, businessmen and plain people such as I who answered my letter of July 19 with words of encouragement. Perhaps I should answer a question some of you have put to me.

Who am I?

I am an ordinary citizen in my early thirties. I was an enlisted man in artillery in World War II. I am without distinction. I pay my own way and send these letters at my own expense. I write as I do with one motive only - as an ordinary citizen to rally my fellows to anger, a people's fury that will compel an investigation to discover who has been wrong; disclose whether we've been wronged. It is a private citizen's small effort toward saving the country we love for your children and mine. Only your insistence and public wrath can prevent further crippling disasters.

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Sincerely yours



THE ANATOMY OF RESIGNATION

What does it take to wake us up?

Defeat? We've been defeated.

Danger of losing our independence? Those of us who do not know that we're on the verge of disaster, are unaware of swiftly developing crises because known facts have been kept from them, have been sugar-coated, or have been twisted.

Isn't it amazing that one calamity that catches our government unawares is followed by yet another that "stuns it with surprise", without any permanent corrective measures being taken?

Misinformation and no information contribute to the toll of failure. But how can we, the people, suffer shock after shock with only momentary excitement and then settle back to complacency?

Ignorance of the situation in Iraq was confirmed in the press by our Central Intelligence Agency, the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon. It jolted us into anger. But that's passing already. "They" count on that.

I suggest this theorem: when disgrace and dishonor are heavy enough and frequent, when disaster is pyramided on disaster, the very enormity of the shame dulls comprehension. We've become used to humiliation. "They" count on that.

We will have to raise our protest and keep it up.

Already the cover-up boys are slipping their syrup into some commentaries in the press and on radio and T.V. Already the initial insistence on Congressional investigation is dying down. Whispered assurances that things are not what they seem - "here's information for your ears only" - are soothing some Congressmen. "They" count on that.

But defeats continue. One day there may be a final defeat - and there will be, unless we, the public, raise our protest and keep it up - keep it up until those who are responsible for negligence and incompetence - or worse - are eliminated from positions where "They" are able to make even one more disaster possible.

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ARCHITECTS OF DISASTER

Do we owe our continuing Mid-East failures and the coming shocks in Africa to those who gave China to Communism and their collaborators?

The same kind of people who influenced America's disastrous policy in China are gathering in the Middle East. You watch - something is going to happen. This is the context of a statement made in 1953 to a nationally-known public figure.

I do not accuse anyone. But in conversations with men who know their subject, and in reading the sworn testimony of respected persons in Congressional hearings, I see, as I believe you will, a pattern in disaster so strange as to demand instant and complete investigation.

The following excerpted facts are drawn from "Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate made by its Sub-committee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws" for 1956, and Section VII of the 1957 Report of the same sub-committee.

Policy Perversion. Who are the makers of American policy?

Congressman Walter Judd, testifying under oath, said: "On the law of averages, a mere moron once in a while would make a decision that would be favorable to the United States. When policies are advocated by any group which consistently work out to the Communists' advantage, that couldn't be happenstance".

Congressman Judd testified that there were "The Four Johns" who were leaders in undermining the policy laid down by the President. He said they were, John Carter Vincent, John Stewart Service, John Paton Davies and John K. Emmerson.

Mr. Angus Ward, former American Consul at Mukden, Manchuria, was kidnaped by the Chinese Communists in 1946 and held under arrest for 14 months. Mr. Ward testified that when he reported in 1945 to his State Department superiors that Moscow would "follow expansionist ideals and would be content with nothing short of a line running from the Baltic to the Adriatic", he was rebuked by his State Department superiors. He was called a disloyal American for speaking so of "one of our allies".

Admiral Charles Maynard Cooke, wartime Chief of Staff to Admiral Ernest King, "attended all the international conferences held by the heads of leading governments beginning with Casablanca and ending with Potsdam".

Admiral Cooke testified as to American responsibility for the victory of Soviet-backed Chinese Communists over the pro-West Nationalist Government of China. He testified that, after the fall of the Nationalist Chinese and their retreat to Formosa, false intelligence reports were sent from Formosa to Washington. He said that they caused "a very serious adverse effect

on the United States policy and action"...that, when he presented the idea that we should help the Nationalist Chinese hold Formosa, he did not at that time know that "our State Department was getting ready to warn all diplomatic personnel throughout the world to be ready to explain the fall of Formosa..."

Admiral Cooke visited Formosa. He found that no intelligence representative from MacArthur's staff, from the War Department, from the Navy Department or from the Central Intelligence Agency was on Formosa. As far as he knew, they were not permitted to serve on Formosa. The only intelligence representatives there were Army, Navy and Air Force attaches under Mr. Robert Strong, the State Department representative.

Mr. Strong refused a request for General Fortier of General MacArthur's staff to visit Formosa. But on a trip to Southeast Asia, General Fortier's plane sat down on Formosa for a few days. Mr. Strong protested.

Admiral Cooke testified that he found that false intelligence emanated from Formosa, making "facts" to fit pro-Red policy, that "...there was a policy that had been set up in Washington.....being followed by State Department representatives in Formosa, which required that intelligence facts should conform to the policy rather than have a change of policy that would be guided by the facts".

"Assistant military attache, Captain (later Lt. Colonel) J. R. Manning, had wished to report facts which did not fit in with the character of reports apparently desired by the State Department representative, who therefore made a direct report to the War Department." Admiral Cooke said that Captain Manning was summarily dismissed and transferred to Tokyo.

Captain (now, Lt. Colonel) Manning confirmed Admiral Cooke in a letter addressed to the Department of the Army on November 5, 1957. (Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security, Section VII, 1957.) Colonel Manning wrote that, when his orders relieving him of duty from Mr. Robert Strong's staff on Formosa came, members of Mr. Strong's staff remarked: "Bob finally got you".

Colonel Manning also wrote that a Mr. Krentz, of the State Department, arrived on a "fishing trip". Mr. Krentz told Colonel Manning "that it was not desirable to have both a Nationalist and Chinese Communist Government", that ECA help to the Nationalist Chinese would continue because of political pressure by Senators Knowland and Alexander Smith, but that it was "wasted money, that the State Department wanted to recognize the Communist government as soon as it was prudent to do so".

Representative Judd "expressed the firm opinion that pro-Communist manoeuvring is still being practised by seemingly obscure bureaucrats at remote State Department desks. Admiral Cooke left little doubt about his opinion that false, if not fraudulent, intelligence is still being circulated".

Dr. E. Herbert Norman and Mr. John K. Emmerson

(Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security Report, Section VII, 1957)

"The inescapable conclusion from this record was that Mr. Norman was a Communist, that he had operated in the United States, and that this activity covered a long period of time." (Sub-Committee Report, Section VII)

"The CIA has a file on E. Herbert Norman which contains a dispatch from Cairo dated in April...The dispatch says that the night before Norman plunged to destruction he had dinner with a doctor. He told the doctor that he was afraid that Prime Minister St. Laurent was not standing behind him, that he was afraid there was going to be a Royal Commission inquiry, and that if he were called he would have to implicate 60 or 70 Americans and Canadians and that he couldn't face up to it and that he was going to destroy himself." (Senate Sub-Committee Report, Section VII)

"Mr. Emmerson had come into the picture in the course of the Sub-Committee's inquiry into how American Foreign Service officers, by their erroneous reporting and by promulgating mischievous official papers, have contributed greatly into a state of confusion in our official thinking that has been most helpful to the Communist cause...This mischievous reporting was especially marked in connection with events in China after 1943.

". Mr. Emmerson, writing from Yen'an where he was then stationed as a military observer for the State Department, prepared a report which reached to the higher echelons of our Government. This report recommended that the Japanese Peoples Emancipation League, an organization made up of and led by Japanese Communists, in the heart of Communist territory, be used by the United States Government for the 'widespread dissemination of democratic ideas'." (Senate Sub-Committee Report Section VII)

"Mr. Emmerson and Mr. Norman had been associated in Japan in actions which former State Department Official Eugene Dooman told the Sub-Committee had added '100,000 members to the Communist party in Japan'." (Senate Sub-Committee Report Section VII)

Mr. Emmerson was assigned to the United States Embassy at Beirut, Lebanon. Mr. Robert Strong was sent to Damascus, Syria. Dr. Norman was made Canadian Ambassador to Egypt and Minister to Lebanon.

Did the gathering of these and others in the Middle East have any significance? These and others were on hand in the Far East. We lost China; almost lost Formosa. Communism in Japan increased. These and others were on hand in the Middle East. We lost our position in the Middle East.

How many others were around just before disaster struck? Are the Senate Sub-Committee indications justified? Where are these people now? The people of the United States who pay the bills and whose security is threatened have a right to know.

DID CIA CREATE NASSER? IF SO, WHY?

Agents of the American Central Intelligence Agency encouraged and financed Colonel Nasser to overthrow the Egyptian pro-Western government of General Naguib.

This is being said in Washington. Sources close to British intelligence say it is so, and it is freely discussed in the foreign offices of Western Europe.

We can and we must discover the truth of this matter.

The Comptroller General can supply the answer, I believe. He should be questioned at once in secret Congressional session, because such powerful rumors spread by responsible people contribute nothing to foreign confidence in the Administration - or to our own.

~~If the rumors rife in Washington and in European capitals are not true, at least one weight could be lifted from the shoulders of CIA, already staggering under charges of having damaged American security by passing misinformation - or no information - to officials too often "taken by surprise".~~

If the widespread story is correct, we must find out what the motive was in financing Nasser to overthrow a government friendly to the United States. Treason? Or just the "king-maker" complex of puffed-up bureaucrats?

Costly mistake and cover-up? We must carefully examine what we hear and read. We must watch for propaganda that confuses us and saps our demands to know the truth.

Commentators have been telling us recently: "The Iraq and other Arab revolutions are fought in the spirit of 1776" and "President Nasser overthrew the corrupt and tyrannical government of Egypt's King Farouk".

As an American, I don't care for the comparison of a revolt that includes assassination with our ancestors' fight for independence. Independence is the key word. Our ancestors were trying to separate from the mother country. Moscow-led Nasser is trying to deprive the Arab states of their newly gained independence. Nor is it true that Nasser won his dictatorship by overthrowing King Farouk. He overthrew Naguib, the friend of the West.

Is such misinformation being spread through ignorance?

It's the same "line" as "Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin overthrew the corrupt rule of the Czars". False! They overthrew the democratic Kerensky who had already toppled the Czar of Russia.

This time we must know. Congress must investigate CIA, beginning with an executive-session examination of the cloak-and-dagger books in the hands of the Comptroller General.

HAS AN INVISIBLE HAND INFLUENCED TOP MILITARY POLICY?

Digest of a Speech made by Brigadier General Bonner Fellers, U.S.A. Ret.
(General Fellers is rated as one of America's top intelligence authorities)

The United States is fortunate in having won all its wars, except Korea, though in many instances victory was won despite gross and costly error.

Hitler invaded Poland only after making a deal with Stalin. Stalin made a non-aggression pact with Japan. Germany, however, turned on Soviet Russia. We came into the war.

The German army was deep in Russia. In cooperation with the Royal Air Force, General Fellers worked out a plan for American B-24's to bomb from Turkish bases the four railways supplying Hitler's armies. General Fellers was called to discuss the plan with the President - but was prevented from doing so.

Who derived benefit from the dropping of this plan? The war was prolonged and our costly invasion of the Continent from the British Isles was made necessary. Soviet Russia was enabled to come back all the way to Berlin - and Stalin was thereby given the satellite states.

The Emperor of Japan wanted to surrender and asked Russia to mediate with the United States. From their actions, it seemed that Washington couldn't possibly have known of this, but when General Fellers returned home in 1946 he discovered that "all the while our own top officials in our own Government knew that Japan was endeavoring to discuss surrender terms". But we decided to continue the war so that Russia could come in. If Russia had not thus belatedly joined a war already won, these things would not have happened:

"...China would not have gone Red; there would have been no war in Korea; there would be peace in the Pacific today. Some 150,000 American casualties would have been avoided..." The Yalta Agreement gave Russia rights in the Pacific which have led to most of the trouble that confronts us in the Far East today.

After the war, another mysterious thing happened. In 1946 a Russian staff of 186 went about Japan, making what was probably the most exhaustive study of bombing ever made... 66 Japanese cities had been destroyed mainly by the American B-29 bomber. On August 18, a Moscow newspaper, "The Communist Agitator", said, "Soviet planes must fly higher, faster and farther than those of any other power..."

So the Boeing plant in Wichita, Kansas, received a message from Washington to destroy the means to make the B-29, then the best bomber in the world. The Boeing people took the jigs, dies and presses that had made the B-29, put them on a concrete ramp, ran them over with a road roller - and sold 35 million dollars worth of machine tools for junk.

Russia started right away - with German technicians, industrialists and

equipment - to build what they consider the best air force in the world. It is the largest.

While this was going on, we reduced our 250 wings to 2 and destroyed our ability to make the B-29.

General Fellers also tells the story of the Red Army's entry into Manchuria, the capture of a million Japanese soldiers and the arming of the Red Chinese with captured Japanese weapons. He tells how we slapped an embargo on weapons en route to the non-Communist Chinese - even dumping millions of dollars worth of essential munitions into the Indian Ocean rather than permit our Chinese allies to defend themselves against the Moscow-led Red Chinese.

General Fellers tells how Harry Dexter White and the Treasury Department tried to get our Government to lend Russia 10 billion dollars to develop Russian natural resources on which we should depend for our defensive production.

The State Department liked the principle. So, under the pretext that we need strategic materials we were to tax ourselves silly to develop sources of strategic materials all over the world, pumping vast fortunes into those European countries that had colonies - whether or not these colonies were to become free and able to turn to Moscow or actually to fall into the hands of an enemy.

THE U.N. CRUCIFIES AN HONEST MAN

The Hon. Robert Morris, former counsel of the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, charges that the United Nations' dismissal of Povl Bang-Jensen was engineered by an international Communist conspiracy. He said that two important Americans in the U.N. participated.

Mr. Bang-Jensen was deputy-secretary of the U.N. Committee to Investigate the Russian Aggression that followed the Hungarian anti-Communist revolution in 1956. 81 anti-Communist witnesses appeared before the U.N. Special Committee on Hungary. Under Mr. Bang-Jensen's pledge that he would not disclose their names because of fear of reprisal, the witnesses documented the charges of unprovoked Soviet aggression against Hungary.

The Bang-Jensen report delivered a devastating blow against Soviet reputation and caused defections in Communist parties throughout the world. Judge Morris says that the Communists have been conspiring to destroy Bang-Jensen on the theory that if you destroy the symbol, you destroy the effectiveness of the report.

U.N. Secretary-General Hammarskjold demanded the surrender of the 81 names. Mr. Bang-Jensen, true to his pledge, refused. He was fired.

Charges were filed against Mr. Bang-Jensen. He was not allowed to see the relevant documents. He was forbidden to talk to the press. In the meantime, Communists, pro-Communists and anti-anti-Communists, in true Communist fashion, have conducted a reprehensible smear campaign.

Judge Morris said Mr. Bang-Jensen's dismissal "without the semblance of due process" is "an outrage against everything for which we here in the United States stand". (See Mr. Bang-Jensen's devastating 30-page Memorandum (with annexes) to the Secretary-General of the U.N.)

Unfortunately, there is not space on these pages to give more than the above broad outline, but that is enough to convince me and, I am sure, every honest citizen, that the time has come when we must make our outrage heard.

How much longer can we, the people of the United States, remain silent over the possibility of the existence of enemies within?

WHAT CAN WE DO?

You, the people and the Congress of the United States, were so aroused by the public disclosure of the "stunned surprise" of Washington over Middle Eastern crises that a number of resolutions to investigate the presumed failure of our intelligence system were presented to the Congress.

Already, there are signs that the resolutions are being bottled up.

Unless we, the people and the Congress of the United States, are capable of sustained anger, this flurry will pass like all the others and, once again, my theorem will be proved:

When disgrace and dishonor are heavy enough and frequent,
when disaster is pyramided on disaster, the very enormity
of the shame dulls comprehension.

We must keep this in mind: the Iraqi intelligence fiasco may or may not have been due to CIA field operations; it may or may not have been due to failure in transmission; it may or may not have been due to misinterpretation, planned or otherwise; it may or may not have been due to other incompetence.

At all events, it was not the first fiasco. It will not be the last - unless we, the people and the Congress, sustain our angry demand for a full and immediate investigation. Already, since my letter to you of July 19, new though less dramatic surprises have been confessed - surprises that didn't surprise those who read the private intelligence reports mentioned in my first letter.

We must insist on a far-reaching investigation of our intelligence services and of the State Department. The active investigators should be men who know where to look and should include such outstanding patriots as Generals Wedemeyer and Fellers and, perhaps, J. Edgar Hoover and Harry Anslinger.

We can't afford to have this investigation bottled up. Our very national security cannot permit it to be a whitewash.

To assure success, public clamor must be aroused and sustained. I agree with your answers to my previous letter. We can help by:

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- Writing and getting all our friends to write to Congress. Most Senators and Representatives will welcome the heartening sign that we back them up.
- Working through the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and local luncheon and service clubs.
- Speaking to assembled groups; writing to our local newspapers.
- Above all, staying angry and showing cause for anger to our friends; it is our safety, yours and mine, and our honor that are being compromised; it is our money that is being wasted.

We should insist, insist and insist on an investigation in depth. In each political and military defeat, who was responsible? Who made the wrong moves? Who advised those in charge to make the wrong moves?

We must ask, ask and ask until we get satisfactory answers.

Were any of the culprits involved in more than one blunder? Are any of them in a position to lead us to new disasters? Cannot we catalogue the names of the few who seem always to be in a position of authority when disaster strikes? Is there an enemy within? We must find out.

Let us beware of those who smear the witnesses who are willing to testify against our grievous multiple mistakes - those who always picture the patriot as "more dangerous than the Communists he exposes".

This is our country. It is being lost. Our angry insistence can save it.



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